1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

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MOHAMMED LIMNIBHY

[frontispiece]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CLOTHING 2

Ghomaran woman with haik and leggings

Ghomaran girls, wearing haiks and broad cloth belts

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Taghsuthi woman wearing *thearthat* with brooches

Taghsuthi woman with *thearthat*, showing attachment

[facing p. 84]

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

to the contact of peoples or to a common descent. The Berbers are generally considered to belong to a northern branch of the Hamitic stock, though the opinion has been expressed [1] that they are not Hamites by race but conquerors of the Hamitic aborigines of North Africa who adopted the language of the conquered. In any case it seems difficult to doubt that a very large portion or the bulk of the Berbers are members of a race which was once spread over the Mediterranean basin, and which has been called the Mediterranean race, whatever the origin of this race may be. It is

FIG. 8.—Among the Aiṯ Yúsi.

characterised by black hair and brown eyes ; but among the Berbers there is also an appreciable element of blondness. In Morocco blond people are in fact very frequent among the Rifians [2] and by no means rare among the Brâber [3] and the Shlöḥ of the Great Atlas ; and there are such people in the

[1] Lissauer, 'Archäologische und anthropologische Studien über die Kabylen', in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xl. (Berlin, 1908), p. 527.

[2] See also Mrs. Brooks, *A Memoir of Sir John Drummond Hay* (London, 1896), p. 153 ; de Segonzac, *Voyages au Maroc* (*1899–1901*) (Paris, 1903), p. 47 ; de la Martinière, *Morocco : Journeys in the Kingdom of Fez and to the Court of Mulai Hassan* (London, 1889), p. 69.

[3] See also de Segonzac, *op. cit.* pp. 137, 166, 229. According to Harris (*Tafilet* [Edinburgh & London, 1895], p. 159), there are some blue-eyed persons among the Drâwa.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

142 mountains of Algeria as well.[1] This blondness among the Berbers has been explained in different ways.[2] It has been attributed to immigration from Europe. The invasion of the Vandals would of course be quite insufficient to account for it, since blond people are known to have existed in North Africa long before their arrival;[3] but it is supposed that at a much earlier time an immigration took place from the north of Europe, the land of the blonds, across the Straits of Gibraltar.[4] This hypothesis is based partly on the fact that a large agglomeration of blonds is only found in that region of the world, and partly on the occurrence of dolmens in a continuous line from the shore of the Baltic to Tunis which are considered to mark the path of the migration. According to another theory, the blondness is, largely at least, indigenous to Africa, being due to the influence of external conditions, more particularly to that of altitude,[5] or to spontaneous variation of unknown origin.[6] The problem cannot be regarded as definitely solved; but I believe that most students of racial biology would nowadays favour the idea of the infusion of foreign blood as the cause of the blondness.

[1] Randall-Maciver and Wilkin, *Libyan Notes* (London, 1901), pp. 29, 30, 97 *sq.*; Lissauer, *loc. cit.* pp. 518, 525; Steensby, 'Nogle etnografiske Iakttagelser fra en Rejse i Algier og Tunis 1908', in *Geografisk Tidsskrift*, xx. (Kjøbenhavn, 1909–10), p. 68; Hilton-Simpson, 'The Influence of its Geography on the People of the Aures massif, Algeria', in *The Geographical Journal*, lix. (London, 1922), p. 23.

[2] See also Topinard, 'Instructions sur l'anthropologie de l'Algérie. Deuxième partie: Instructions particulières', in *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, ser. ii. vol. viii. (1873), p. 645 *sq.*; Ripley, *The Races of Europe* (London, 1900), p. 279.

[3] Bates, *op. cit.* p. 39 *sqq.*; Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. (Berlin, 1917), p. 622 n. 1.

[4] Faidherbe, 'Instructions sur l'anthropologie de l'Algérie. Première partie: Considérations générales', in *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, ser. ii. vol. viii. (1873), p. 605 *sq.*; Lissauer, *loc. cit.* p. 526 *sq.*; Mehlis, 'Die Berberfrage', in *Archiv für Anthropologie*, new ser. vol. viii. (Braunschweig, 1909), p. 285; Schrader, 'Le Maghreb', in *Revue anthropologique*, xxiii. (Paris, 1913), p. 83.

[5] Sergi, *The Mediterranean Race* (London, 1901), p. 74 *sq.*; Ripley, *op. cit.* p. 280.

[6] Steensby, *loc. cit.* p. 68.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

771 saints' tombs (23). Ṣūfi brotherhoods have never been widespread although the 'Alāwīyīn (a recent order centered in Mustaghānim, in Algeria), Darqāwa, Tijānīyīn and Naṣirīyīn have each gained a number of aherents the first-mentioned predominates at the presen time and the second was the most popular before the Riffian War.

778 Although the whole «fifth» of Imrābdhen, technically speaking, is descendend from *shurfā*, it has completely lost its *baraka* (a wonderwoking power not unlike the Melanesian *mana*) through participation in feuds. Both these families, as well as the rest of Imrābdhen, lebong to distant ramifications of the *Shurfā* Idrīsīyīn. The *shurfā* alone and not even all of them possess the quality of *baraka*, upon which they capitalize; it is said that they can cure sick babies by spitting in their mouths.

796 The usual Muslim festivals are observed: 'Āshūrā, Mūlud (in classical Arabic, *Maulid*), 'Īd aṣ-Ṣaghīr and 'Īd al-Kabīr (called 'Aid th-Amzyān and 'Aid th-Amqrān in the Rīf), while two pre-Islamic events are still celebrated in the agricultural calendar or *'ām al-fillāḥ*: the 'Anṣra, on June 24, a survival of the summer solstice rite, and the Ḥagūz, on December 31. The only local religious pilgrimage is [788] the annual one to the tomb of Sīdī Bū Khiyār, in Bū Mā'dhin, Thimārzgha, in the mountains, at the time of the 'Īd al-Kabīr. There are many other saints' tombs in the tribe, but they are only of minor importance and too numerous to mention here.

142 A word still needs to be said about racial characteristics and ethnic personality. Like all the Central Riffians, about 40% of the Aith Wuryāghil are standard Mediterraneans, with the usual Mediterranean racial attributes: short to medium stature, legs long in comparison to trunk, long heads, narrow faces, small teeth, prominent noses, dark hair, brown eyes and fairly heavy body hair. But, like all Mediterraneans, they show a persistent minority trend toward blondism; this tendency toward light brown hair and blue eyes is, among the Central Riffians, slightly higher than the usual 25% among other Mediterranean peoples. Coon believes this slight excess to be due to isolation in a mountain refuge area (for most of the blond Wuryāghlīs live in the mountains and not in the Bay of Alhucemas),

(23) Rodríguez Padilla, Isaías: **Cofradías Religiosas en el Rif y Diversas Taifas de Xorfas, Zauias y Santuarios.**, Ceuta 1930, p. 24.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

and to mixture with an older strain (24), which is strongest in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh and in the Jabal (Turīrth-Thimārzgha-Aith 'Arūs), as well as in eastern Aith 'Ammarth and northern Giznāya. This strain, which has probably survived from pre-agricultural times, is without question a very old one and shows a market resemblance to the Afalou crania and skeletal material from Constantine in Algeria and, to a lesser degree, to the Cro-Magnon people of Upper Palaeolithic Europe. The modern representatives of this strain look like Irishmen, with stocky body builds, wide faces (but long heads), snub noses, big teeth, reddish hair, green or light gray eyes, and freckles. I can personally attest that the presence of people of this physical type in the Central Rīf is far too frequent to be ignored, and strongly believe that these «Upper Palaeolithic survivors» are far too firmly rooted in their mountain habitat to be accounted for by any invasion within historic times, whether it be factual or fictional. That the Moroccan Berbers are descendants of Goths or Vandals is a myth that is, unfortunately, taking a long time to die; even more unfortunately, I have met Riffians who have come to believe in it themselves.

If you ask an Arab in Tangier or Tetuan what he thinks of Riffians in general and of Wuryāghlīs in particular, he will tell you that they, especially the latter, are ferocious, treacherous and that for a peseta they would be more than happy to out your throat. In all fairness to the people of Aith Wuryāghil, this seems a very harsh dictum indeed. But at the same time it must be remembered that in the past Wuryāghlī children were conditioned very early in their infancy to violence and murder; they were constantly reminded that a slur on the family honor had to be wiped off the record in blood. There is also the additional factor of mountain air and a more balanced if simpler diet which makes the Wuryāghlī physically stronger and tougher than the city or plains Arab; this is why he can stay out and plow his fields all day in a blistering August sun during Ramaḍān without bothering to stop for a siesta, and it is why he often landed a job as a construction worker or as a porter at the docks when he came to Tangier to find work after the drought of 1945. He is sober,

(24) Coon, 1951, p. 157.

114 619 unfounded argument which is insufficient for making up any definitive listing, for it excludes other criteria. The famous historian from Sevilla (read "Tunis"), Ibn Khaldun, who also never visited Morocco, places them among the descendants of the Sinhajat al-Litham, or "Veiled Sinhaja", who emigrated over all North Africa after having 619 left their original home in southern Algeria. My own humble opinion is that in the Igzinnayen we are confronted with a tribe of purely Berber origin, around which many diversified elements came to establish themselves.

142 157 The Arab, in general, is a man of deliberate movements, thin, long-faced and giving the impression that a certain spiritual elegance emanates from him; the Berber, in general, is much more brusque and abrupt, with a short neck and a round face, and, in speaking, he gesticulates in such a way as to give the impression that he is talking with his eyes rather than with his mouth. Whether Arab, Arabo-619 Berber or pure Berber, the origins of the Igzinnayen are very obscure.[153]

The founders of the tribe originated from the Ulad Akthir (unidentifiable), who, in Tamjund and Buridh (of the Asht 'Asim clan) gave rise to the Asht Bu Zkri (or Izkrithen), Ibaqriyen and Iharrasen; in Azru (of the Asht Yunis), to the Farzugu (unidentifiable), Asht Ishaq and Asht 'Aisa (unidentifiable); in Aqwir (of the Imzdwar) to the Asht Tirmamin and the Asht Tighda 'Ali.

The Jbarna (of the Asht r-Udha clan) have their origin in Imzdurar; they reached their present territory at a time which is impossible to determine. A large number of their families own land

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

favored the propagation of xerophytic and heliophilous plants, and thus enhanced the illusion of desiccation. The "tropical" animals pictured on Roman mosaics did not die out as a result of climatic change; they were exterminated by man. The last elephants probably disappeared in Roman time. Lions may have been in the Atlas Mountains until about 1900. Ostriches, antelopes, and other animals nearly extinct in the Sahara still survive along the upper reaches of the Saqiyah al-Hamra in Río de Oro. The arguments for and against desiccation in historic time have been debated at length, and the weight of evidence is against a significant change in climate.[3]

The Berbers

The autochthonous inhabitants of northern Africa are usually described as Berbers. In classical times this appellation, derived from Greek and Latin roots meaning "barbarian," was applied to individuals or groups living beyond the Orbis Romanus. Today Berber is applied as a general name, devoid of pejorative implication, to North Africans who are not Arabized. The people thus designated refer to themselves as *imazighen* (nobles). The European term serves a useful function if its application is determined by the persistence of Berber speech, but confusion results when it is given racial, moral, or psychological connotation. Romantic notions of the Berbers as "noble savages" may be found even in serious works.[4] The French had an instinctive liking for the Berbers, because they seemed more European than Oriental in physical appearance and mental outlook. But the policy of encouraging Berber languages, Berber law, and Berber traditions, as a means of checking Arab nationalism, had at best only temporary success.

The racial characteristics of the Berber-speaking peoples are far from uniform. In the Kabylie, Aurès, Rif, and Atlas mountains one may see dolichocephalic people, with blue or gray eyes, and light brown or even blond hair. Other Berber-speaking peoples are darker and have round heads. Many Berbers are of the classical Mediterranean type. The Tuareg form another group, tall and lean, with short bodies and long limbs. The physical characteristics of the indigenous peoples of northern Africa seem to have resulted from the crossing of several races during widely separated periods.[5]

The confusion surrounding the meaning of "Berber" is further complicated by the fact that French colonial policy called for a division of Morocco into Berber and Arab territories, each with a distinct system of local government and law.[6] In unreasoned protest against the implications of this policy, some authors, sympa-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 35]

[3] There are many discussions of this problem: Stéphane Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Hachette, 1913–1928), I, 44–99; Jean Despois, *La Tunisie orientale: Sahel et Basse Steppe* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1940), pp. 237 ff.; Rhoads Murphey, "The Decline of North Africa since the Roman Occupation: Climatic or Human?" Association of American Geographers, *Annals*, 41 (1951), 116–132; and K. W. Butzer, *Studien zum vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Landschaftswandel der Sahara* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1958), pp. 5–17.

[4] For an interesting example of Berber romanticism, see Edouard Brémond, *Berbères et arabes: la Berbérie est un pays européen* (Paris: Payot, 1950).

[5] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931); L. Cabot Briggs, "The Living Races of the Sahara Desert," Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Papers*, 28 (1958).

[6] As recently as September, 1956, pamphlets urging the Berber tribes to revolt against "Arab imperialism" were distributed in Morocco. The Moroccan police promptly established that these tracts had been typed and mimeographed on machines used by an organization known as the "Présence Française." For the text of one of the tracts and the Moroccan reaction to it, see *Al-Istiqlal*, September 7, 1956, and the *Tangier Gazette*, September 14, 1956.